/337 cont./

243 [476] [534] Once their fields are free of weeds, the Chiriguano call together relatives and friends. On the date agreed upon, all go to the fields early in the morning, after waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by blowing into cow horns, which for them take the place of horns (in Chiriguano: waka-ranti) (Fig. 5), each trying to outdo the other. In olden days the [522] village chief used to take part in the sowing and watched to make sure that all helped one another.

[534] [321] Fig. 5. Cow horn (waka-ranti) which the Chiriguano use for a horn. The end is carved into a mouthpiece. Prov.: Ibopeyti. (1/5 nat. size.)

Sowing is done in a very simple way. If the ground is soft, the Indian sticks his shovel vertically into the soil, after giving two or three thrusts in order to push it in as far as possible. He enlarges the slit by pushing his shovel forward without drawing it out and slips two or three kernels of corn into the opening. Without changing position he makes two or three similar holes on his right and left, takes a step forward and begins again. The plants thus grow in a certain alignment /338/ which is far from perfect. Since several work at [461] a time, the job is done quickly. At noon, or about two o'clock [273] in the afternoon at the latest, they have finished their task and go back to the village where the chicha or kāwi, which the owner of the field has had prepared for his helpers, awaits them

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Fire.—For several generations the *Chiriguano* and *Chané* have used steel and flint for making fire. The fire drill is, however, remembered in their mythology.

Weapons.—The *Chiriguano* bow has an average length of 4 feet (1.2 m.); the stave is flat on the belly and convex on the back. Both ends are sharpened to prevent the string of twisted hide from slipping. Arrows are tipped with carefully barbed rods, with two rods barbed along the outer edges, (fig. 59, *b*) with flat lanceolate heads, or with a conical knob (bird arrow). The arrows armed with two diverging rods are used to shoot large birds, such as the yacu (*Penelope* sp.). Fishing arrows of the *Chané* bristle with cactus thorns. Today arrows ending in a sharp wooden rod are rare, as the modern arrows are usually tipped with heavy wires. The shafts are made of cultivated reeds (*Arundo donax*). Formerly, the *Chané* used the uva grass (*Gynerium sagittatum*). Feathering, which is of the cemented type, is sometimes omitted.

The clubs of the *Chiriguano* in the 17th century were short and ended in a flat, oval head, a shape somewhat related to the ancient *Tupinamba* club. These clubs have disappeared (only a single specimen could be obtained in 1929 by Métraux) and have been replaced by simple cudgels that serve only to knock down wild pigs.

Chiriguano in direct contact with the *Quechua* have woolen slings; those living farther to the east have slings made of caraguatá fibers, which they use mainly to chase birds from the fields. The pellet bow is common among the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, but is merely a toy for boys.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Originally, the *Chiriguano* community consisted of a few extended families or lineages, strictly patrilineal. Modern villages are composed of many small biological families bound by relationship ties or by their allegiance to a common chief.

Chiriguano chiefs (mburubicha) of old were men distinguished by their courage, their eloquence, and often by their magic power. They enjoyed considerable prestige and held no little authority. Some of them (tubicha rubicha) extended their influence over a wide area and were recognized as a supreme chief by the local chieftains. The main function of a chief was to settle quarrels within the village, to punish thieves, to see that people worked in the fields at the proper time, to arrange feasts, and to lead his men in war. Chiefs also had right of eminent domain over the land. Sometimes a chief was assisted by an informal council consisting of shamans and of the oldest and bravest men of the community. As a rule, a chief, even if he was powerful, led the same type of life as any of his subjects; in recent time some chiefs had servants. Some aristocratic pride was evidenced by the members of their family.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Chane SF8

Chieftainship was inherited in the male line, but the title was bestowed on a chief's son only if he were worthy of it. There are only a very few cases of women ruling a *Chiriguano* group, but the *Chané* remembered the names of several women leaders. According to a genealogy of a *Chané* chiefly family recorded by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 229), power was inherited successively by the brothers and sisters of a deceased chief before it passed to his son. In the village visited by Nordenskiöld, the brother's son of the chieftainess was the actual ruler, but her son by a commoner was the heir apparent. This system of succession is probably the same as the one prevailing among the eastern *Chané* (*Guaraní*).

Chiriguano chiefs of the past wore conspicuous ornaments and were entitled to carry the yanduwa, a pole with a bunch of feathers tied at the end, and a carved stick.

Property.—A plot that had once been cultivated by a man belonged to him and to his descendants, but could not be alienated by him. In order to insure new ownership rights, a *Chiriguano* would plant a few pumpkins on the land which he intended to clear.

Justice.—Thieves were expelled from the community or sometimes were flogged. A man convicted of adultery could lose his property. Murderers were sent into exile, unless the victim's family had time to kill him first. Wronged individuals often took justice into their own hands and challenged the offender to a duel. The settlement of old accounts occurred generally during drinking bouts.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—Soon after childbirth, the mother went to the river to wash and smear herself with urucú. Both parents observed various food taboos. The father rested for a few days on his bed and refrained from any work, lest he harm the baby. One twin, as well as any malformed infant, was killed (Campana, 1902, p. 72).

Puberty.—Menstrual flow was attributed to the bite of a mysterious serpent. At her first menses a girl was hoisted in her hammock to the roof of the hut, where she was compelled to stay for 5 days without uttering a word. Then she remained for a month or more enclosed in a corner of the hut. Her hair was clipped short, and she was put on a diet of boiled maize. During her seclusion, she spun and wove wool and cotton so that she would be diligent for the rest of her life. Meanwhile, she became pallid, which was greatly admired when she returned to normal life. Henceforth, she used the affirmative "é, é" instead of the childish "á, á."

In ancient times, the confinement of a pubescent girl lasted for several months or even for a year[1] (Campana, 1902, p. 86).

[1] According to Father Chané (1849 b, p. 202), the pubescent girl was isolated in her hammock near the roof. During the second month, the hammock was lowered, but the confinement ended only in the third month, when a group of old women entered the hut with sticks to exact a symbolic beating for the serpent that had bitten the girl.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

852 304 **Initiation rites.**—Some time between the ages of 7 and 12, a boy had his lower lip perforated by a shaman, who used for this purpose a sharp deer horn. The ceremony was performed only when a sufficiently large group of boys in the village was ready for it. Before they underwent the ordeal, the boys were told that they must show fortitude and that subsequently they could give up the affirmative "á, é" for the masculine "tá." A short period of fasting followed the operation.

851 191 **Marriage.**—In contrast to the free life led by Chaco girls before marriage, *Chiriguano* girls were expected to keep their virginity and were carefully watched by their mothers.

383 191 Chomé (1819 b, p. 202) says that a suitor provided his prospective father-in-law with crops and game. This statement suggests bride service, a custom widely spread among *Guaraní*-speaking tribes and one observed by the *Chané* of the Parapetí River a few decades ago. The bridegroom settled temporarily or permanently with his wife's family.

591 595 622 556 Polygyny, at least in recent times, was restricted to chiefs or to men of wealth. A man's wives generally lived together in harmony, but in many cases they were kept in separate villages. Polygynous wives were often sisters or a mother and her daughter.

763 **Death.**—If the condition of a person was deemed fatal, he was surrounded by a group of women who gave vent to the most spectacular outbursts of grief. This anticipation of the funeral was regarded as a manifestation of affection and respect. The deceased, painted and

764 dressed in his best clothes, was placed squatting in a large chicha jar and was buried, accompanied by his possessions and some food, in the hut where he had lived. The urn was covered with a large jar or plate.

765 The closest female relatives cut their hair and deposited it on the grave. The widow, her head covered with a rag, mourned for a whole year, wailing at certain hours during the day with all the appearance of profound sorrow. She could not resume normal life until a close relative of her dead husband had suggested that she forget her grief. A drinking bout marked the end of mourning.

775 The soul on its journey to the land of the dead (iwoka) faced many ordeals. It had to walk under a wall of fire, over a boiling lagoon, between two onrushing rocks, and between the blades of gigantic scissors. Finally, the deceased reached a land where the dead lived in abundance and joy. This pleasant heaven was open only to those who had never violated traditional custom.

WARFARE

721 **Intertribal warfare.**—Raids to steal crops or cattle or to kidnap women were the main causes of intertribal warfare. The head chief convoked the lesser, i.e., village chiefs, harangued them and listened to their advice. Women performed a special dance and sang to stimulate the courage of the warriors whom orators ceremonially exhorted to fight.

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
76 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[61] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
● 622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

4: Nino--214 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

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Principle of Authority

000 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui; thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551]

1. The Indians in the illustration are; Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as
619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano
361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly
• [622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory
[643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to [114] [62] Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361

2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

•622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643] 1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/159 cont./
622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticúi,
[273] meal, and Atipíi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 692 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently arise in the planting season, since even among these people there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[799] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

721 648 Gũiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

1. Gũiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 729 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irenta, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gũiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

● 622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

574 178 [431] [293] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

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293 824 191 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on P. 221]

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

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The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

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In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643]

2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

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When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

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643 682 692 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with another piece of wood set between them. He called together all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was [671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be respected and that he may be feared (1).

● 622 643 756 686 692 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to accomplish what he has promised, because he perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's prerogative to order the death sentence and burning.

Separation from Command

622 631 643 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared them free from such obedience, naming another more humane person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it. 648 466 464 622 643 This has become easier today by agreement with the political authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the latter, who do not like the yoke or the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/164 cont./

622 643 643 566 46 Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarúire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the caray who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future; interest can do much (2).

2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62 595 It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques: even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[799] 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques: some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622 [555] [556] /165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661] 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

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622 661 may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622 562 Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (2).

2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Saliam has been suspended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

643 The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643 622 The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10.

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Cacique Gilirassa with His Family

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when [296] wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc. sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [197] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivu made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means: companion of the shin bone. These are necessary [224] for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 190/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Güiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandereca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Priaca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen, [432] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today every- [437] thing can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

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643 648 797 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 594 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [169] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/257 cont./

527 622 It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house; this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete; he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance; thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622 461

1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527 On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood; then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, ex abundantia musti os loquitur. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence: at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

● [629] [178]

535 184 193

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille: couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the Mbapa páure is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the Itácua mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Membirári and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Güiracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Then, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/266 cont./

574 596 [194] The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says. Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers. Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí. I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 596 622 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Eyúeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation: meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiaúa prepared for me a 123 [622] maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Beicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá é pe? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

799 991 2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P 362]

Schnabelkiffel E-6,F (1960-1969. 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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[554]

corroborated by the accounts of PEDRO PIZARRO and XERES, who were eyewitnesses of the conquest of the Inca empire. In the high mountain country it is natural that hammocks should not be used as beds. In such parts they would be too cold. It is harder to make out why hammocks were not used in the coastal regions of Peru.

Evidently the hammock in S. America is so old a culture-element that it is impossible to decide whence it came to the Chané and Chiriguano. The latter certainly, and most likely the former too, used hammocks when they settled in their present territory. The technique employed in most Chané and all Chiriguano hammocks is the same as, with small variations, is mostly used wherever hammocks occur.

It is possible that some tribes about the river Amazon preferred palm-fibre hammocks to cotton ones, because the former are cooler. Possibly, too, in these regions of moist heat, hammocks of palm-fibre are less liable to rot and to be attacked by insects than those of cotton.

I here append a map (3) showing the distribution of hammocks of different material after PATER SCHMIDT, with certain additions, as will be seen from table 3.

The seat so characteristic of the Indians in great parts of S. America is a rather uncommon piece of furniture in the huts of the Chiriguano and Chané (Fig. 3). Its distribution in S. America has been investigated by PATER SCHMIDT[1] and SAVILLE[2] wherefore I beg to refer to their works. In my own sphere of work I saw seats among the Quichua mestizos at Collegua, among the Mojo, Huari, Baure and Huanyam. The seat as a culture-element has its southern boundary here. It occurred, though rarely, among the Incas, where seats seem to have been the special privilege of the chiefs[3]. Most likely it is a culture-element which the Chané

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1) P. 1080.
2) V. a. P. 103.
3) Cieza Vol. 2. P. 170.

Schwerdtfeger I-5,3(1908-1909, 1912) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

XXVI

Symbols of authority and dignity.

C
●G22 According to Corrado[1]) the Chiriguano chief was
301 distinguished by a tuft of hair on his head the »guttira«
293 and earrings of green stones. At feasts the chief carried a pole with a bunch of ostrich feathers at the end of it, the »yandugua«, and a carved stick the »sigulraje«. I have
Ce only seen the »yandugua«. Among the Chané I have seen
622 plain sticks that formed some kind of symbol of authority for the chiefs.

C I have neither seen nor heard of any symbols of authoCe rity among any other Indians than the Chané, Chiriguano,
554 Quichua and Aymara, and also, at the missions, among the
*171 Guarayos, Mosetene and Cavina. Among the Aymara and Quichua the staff, usually silver mounted, is a symbol of authority carried by Indian officials in the villages. It is the same at the missions among the tribes mentioned and also among the Chiriguano. Lozano[2]) states that the Spa-
C niards at the end of the seventeenth century solemnly pre-
[G41] sented a staff to a Chiriguano chief, Cambicheri, as a symbol of authority. Chevalier[3]) relates from his visit to the Oyampi that the chief carried a staff in his hand, for all over Guiana the staff is »le signe de commandement«. Koch-Gr(ünberg)[4]) speaks of the staff as a symbol of authority for chiefs in northwest Brazil. Gilij[5]) says that the

[1]) P. 43.
[2]) P. 208.
[3]) P. 184.
[4]) (a) I P. 200, Fig. 142; P. 293, Fig. 275.
[5]) T. 2 P. 295.

6: Nordenskiöld--80 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 9F10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

/227 cont./

The Indians regard the natural aspect of sexual life very differently from the way we view it as a rule. We do not find among these people all the corruption which is in civilized society, but various things are to be found here already. As far as homosexuality in particular is concerned, conditions among primitive peoples, as is known, show that the cause of the evil lies much deeper than in our hypercivilization.

/228/

Chapter Fourteen

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

Chiefs and Laws

The chiefs have an entirely different position among the Chané and Chiriguano than among the Ashluslay and Choroti. They have considerable power. Among the chiefs there are the great chiefs, who rule over several villages, and the village chiefs, who have command over only one village or a part of one. Among the great chiefs whom I met, the noteworthy ones are the old woman Vuãyruyi, the chief over the Chané villages on the Rio Itiyuro, Taruiri, who rules over most of the Caipipendi valley, Mandepora (Fig. 111), who in former times had considerable power in and around Machareti, and Maringay in the Iguembe valley.

Nowadays the chiefs have no symbol of their office other than silver-mounted sticks. According to Corrado, they formerly wore a large tuft of hair on the head, "yantira," as well as green stones which hung at their ears. At the festivals and dances they had the right to use the "yandugua," a rod decorated with a bunch of ostrich feathers, and "iguirape," a staff carved with peculiar figures. Of these I was able to acquire only a yandugua. I did not even see the rest.

The office of chief seems to be hereditary as a rule. Capability and the art of using words well are required, however.

6: Nordenskiöld--82 E-S (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF 8

Ee 622 643 654

/230 cont./

The chiefs' families form a sort of aristocracy among the Chiriguano and Chané. Several times I heard Indians boast about their good family connections. A Chiriguano who accompanied me for some time as an interpreter was eager to impress upon me that he was related to the most famous high chiefs.

Just as the author of this book is customarily introduced as the son of Adolf Nordenskiöld, so the Indians were wont to introduce in similar fashion the sons of their "great men."

I even discovered a bit of deception in connection with the family tree. A Chané claimed direct descent from the great Hinu Parava, which, however, is said to be untrue.

If one wishes to find beautiful things from olden times among these Indians, one must first look for them in the chiefs' families. They keep the old treasures.

Ee [777]

More and more the white authorities are beginning to appoint the chiefs. Thus, in one region one can find a chief supported by the whites and a legitimate one.

Ee 622 423 122 643

The chiefs have great power, and, as far as I could see, they are always obeyed, in contrast to conditions among the Chorote and Ashluslay. They own the land (at least in certain regions), not for themselves, but for the tribe. If one needs porters in a Chané or Chiriguano village, one gets them from the chief, and no Indian will refuse to carry out the orders of the chief.

C 622 643

Although the chief has such great influence, /231/ he nevertheless works in the same way as the other Indians. Vocapoy himself, for example, carried home the heavy wood for cooking the maize beer, and his wife had to cook and sweep, like the other women. Following the example of the whites, however, a few of the most civilized and wealthy Indians, such as Taco, now have servants from their own tribe, but this was not done originally. On the other hand, as I have mentioned elsewhere, it is not unusual for the Mataco-Vejos and the Tapiete to work for the Chiriguano and Chané.

Ee [369] [777] Ee 777 464

When we came home to Vocapoy's village from hunting and shared our booty with the chief /Fig. 115 appears here/, his wife accepted everything, but then went around to the houses and gave her neighbors everything that she had received.

Ca 622 643 431 123

6: Nordenskiöld--83 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

/231 cont./

One cannot speak here of rich and poor in the same village, though there is the beginning of a nobility. On the other hand, there are rich and poor villages. There are relatively wealthy individual Indians, but they, like Taco, live like the whites.

The chief is the judge and in former times was the leader of the fighting men.

Vocapoy told me murder was punished by sentencing the murderer to work up to half a year for the family of the one slain. A thief gets up to 50 lashes and is sent to another village so that he will not be killed. According to Vocapoy, it is the duty of the chief to prevent blood revenge by sending away the offenders so that they will not be murdered. The murder of father, mother, or child is, according to his assertions, unknown in his region.

According to Batirayu, whose statements are more reliable than those of /232/ Vocapoy, the high chief of the Chané on the Río Parapiti deals with no offenses other than murder, seduction of another woman, and bewitchment. Murder with poisoned chicha, "hád-dyási," occured in former times among the Chané. Murderer and bewitcher were burned. The seducer of a woman was deprived of all his possessions. For the rest, theft and other offenses were settled by means of duels. If a person stole something, the injured one and the thief called their relatives together, and they fought on the open plaza in the village.

Fig. 115. Calabash. Chiriguano. Itapenhia. 1/6.

The administrative authorities of the whites are now intervening more and more in the legal affairs of the Indians.

In war with other tribes the chief gives the orders, as they did in the uprisings of the Indians against the whites.

According to Vocapoy, the chief owns the land for the tribe. Batirayu said the land rights are arranged so that everyone plants what he wishes. Land that has been cultivated has its owner, even if it has been fallow for years.

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi perforés mais obliquement«).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta« (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maize beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 136, fig. 11.

[3] von Rosen (8).

/25/

Ce 301 The way these tembetás are used has often been described. Figure 27 shows an Izozó man from whose pierced lower lip projects a round stone disk. When these Indians use the tembetá, they pass it from the inside through the perforation in the lip so that its base is between the row of lower teeth and the lower lip, with the cylinder sticking out from the lip.

C Ce 301 The lower base of three of the Izozó tembetás is quite flat, and only the lower base of tembetá I. A. 129 has a clearly concave form. This is of interest because v. Nordenskiöld and v. Rosen, when they describe the Chiriguano and Chané tembetás mention only those which have a concave base (110).

110. Nord. 2, p. 72.

According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and Chané sometimes use wooden tembeta's in the form of flat cylinders (111).

111. Nord. 2, p. 72.

Ce 301 237 [123] As already mentioned, I obtained simple wax tembetá from the Izozó. The old man who took it out of his lower lip to give it to me doubtless was using it provisionally for lack of another tembetá, in order to close the perforation in his lower lip and prevent the saliva from coming out.

C Ce 304 301 [622] The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not have the custom of piercing their ear lobes. According to Nordenskiöld (112),

112. Nord. 2, p. 77.

C Ce [177] Ce 301 the caciques formerly used pendant earrings set with green stones. If the younger women and girls have recently begun to use earrings, they are imitating this custom of the whites. The cacique of the Izozó in Toledo told me that the women had gold and silver earrings, which at that time they had hidden.

Chané SF8
Izozo

/82 cont./

Ee 531 Figure 33b, which corresponds, as does also the form of this flute, completely to ancient Peruvian models. Also, the surface of the Chiriguano cane flute I.A. 494 (cf. Fig. 34a /see p. 89/) shows some incisings.

One of the tattooed decorations is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld, who found it on a woman's arm (310).

310. Nord. 1, Fig. 108.

Social Conditions among the Chiriguano and Chané

C Ca 114 With regard to the social conditions among the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I am unable to add to the few data which we knew on this subject because the situations in which I found myself when with these Indians were not appropriate for such investigations.

Ce 115 124 126 /83/ Among the Izozó whom I found in Toledo there were some who were designated as cacique. To one of these, who spoke Spanish perfectly, I owe the vocabulary of the Izozó language which I wrote down. I met the Chiriguano only in

C 114 197 ●622 Machareti, where they had lived for a long time under the supervision of the missionaries and, at the time of my trip, under the chieftainship of one of their own fellows who exercised the functions of a commissioner /comisario/. Two other Chiriguano Indians whom I met in Machareti were identified as caciques.

Ee 129 In order to complete my statements about the Chiriguano and the Chané-Izozó, I must make a resumé of what we know from the literature regarding the social conditions of those Indians, referring to Moreno's statements, which are based on old documents, as well as those of v. Nordenskiöld, which are based upon his own investigations.

Ee 198 643 643 000 Naturally, many of the old Chiriguano and Chané social institutions have been lost since they lost their independence from the whites. Also, the power of the great caciques has diminished appreciably since they have been dependent on the whites. When Nordenskiöld

/85 cont./

C 631 643 [622] According to all that we learn from the old documents, the Chiriguano communities, that is, the parcialidades under the chieftainship of great caciques and the subdivisions under the chieftainship of ordinary caciques, had a very firm organization in comparison with other tribes of South American Indians. The great cacique commands his subjects and they obey him absolutely. C [179] It is likely that in this regard the example of the absolute rule of the neighboring Incas of Peru influenced the organization of the Chiriguano. C Ce 643 631 Even at the time of Erland v. Nordenskiöld's trip in 1908, the Chiriguano and Chané caciques were very powerful in contrast with the caciques of the neighboring tribes of the Chaco. Even at that time there were great caciques, who governed a large territory made up of several towns, and ordinary caciques, who governed the inhabitants of a town or part of them. Thus, at the time of Nordenskiöld's trip most of the towns of the Caipipendi valley were governed by a great cacique named Taruiri. The great cacique Mandepora formerly had considerable power in and near Machareti, and the great cacique Maringay in the Iguembe valley. Ce 643 [562] We have Nordenskiöld's interesting statement that women too can be great caciques among the Chané. Thus the great cacique of the Chané towns on the Itiyuru was a woman named Vuáyruyi, who had succeeded her late brother in that office. Because she was already old, she was replaced in her duties by her nephew Vocapoy, who was the eldest son of her brother and predecessor. /86/ Her son was favored as great cacique after Vocapoy (326). Among the Chané on the Itiyuru, and

326. Nord. 1, pp. 223 and 229.

formerly among the Chané of the Parapití when they still had a great cacique, the office of great cacique was tied to a certain family, but it did not pass from father to son. Nordenskiöld recorded the genealogical tree of the family of the caciques of the Chané on the Itiyuru, according to which, after the great cacique Hinu Parava, two of the latter's sons successively succeeded to this office. After the death of the last of these, Hinu Parava's daughter, the above-mentioned Vuáyruyi, was great cacique, while the son

/86 cont./
Ce 643 of her late brother and predecessor, as already mentioned, took her place in her duties. The one predestined for the office of cacique cannot begin his functions if he does not have ability and skill in discussion. The great cacique in the Caipipendi valley was considered incapable because of continual drunkenness, and he was replaced in his functions by one of his relatives (327). In

327. Nord. 1, p. 230.

the Chané towns on the Itiyuru the ordinary caciques too belong to Hinu Parava's family (328).

328. Nord. 1, pp. 170 and 129.

C Ce 643 301 302 293 As a symbol of chieftainship Nordenskiöld observed staffs decorated with silver and the so-called "Yandagua," which consists of a long rod adorned with a tuft of ostrich feathers and is carried by caciques at fiestas and dances. According to Corrado, the caciques formerly wore as a symbol of their office a large lock of hair on top of the head, which they called "yattira," and green stones as pendants in the ear lobes, and at the fiestas, in addition to the "yandagua" mentioned above, the "iguiripe," which was a staff carved with figures (329).

329. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 756 643 ●622 At the side of the caciques a special position is held by the sorcerers, among whom the Chiriguano distinguish two kinds, the "ipáye," who are good and who can undo spells, and the "ipáyepótchi," who can undo spells, but who also cast them. The sorcerer is also above all the doctor who has the obligation of curing the sick (330). In general the occupation of sorcerer is separate

330. Nord. 1, p. 216.

from that of cacique. Only in Ivu did Nordenskiöld observe a case where a Chiriguano cacique was a sorcerer at the same time (331).

331. Nord. 1, p. 230.

/88 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

344. Nord. 1. p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

345. Nord. 1. pp. 211 and 212.

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Ityuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited.

346. Nord. 1. pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1. p. 212.

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Ityuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

348. Nord. 1. p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití : for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup.

8: Schmidt--231 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

Ce 692 643 28

/89 cont./
of the deceased (359).

359. Nord. 1, p. 231.

C 421

Private property is highly respected among the Chiriguano. According to Métraux, even the closest relatives cannot make use of the property of one of them without his consent. The

C 423

possession of a piece of land is guaranteed to a Chiriguano by planting any plant on it or by clearing the circumference of the land required and making large slashes in the trees. When he selects a plot for his planting, the Chiriguano examines it carefully to determine that there are no traces of a previous planting (360).

360. Métraux I, pp. 334 and 340.

C 241 476 [622]

After the land selected for the planting has been cleared, relatives and friends are called together to help with the work. Formerly, the cacique of the town also took part by keeping watch for the workers (361).

361. Métraux I, p. 337.

/90/

Religion

C Ce 797 771 178 538

In their many years of activity the missions have naturally influenced notably the religious notions of the Chiriguano and Chané. Most of them today are Christians. Some still retain part of their primordial ideas, expressed in their legends. I shall limit myself here to referring the reader again to the Chané legends taken down by Nordenskiöld (362) and mentioned several times in the preceding.

362. Nord. 1, pp. 251-296.

In places such as these in which women lose their attractions at an early age and in which men are decimated by the constant wars, the custom of polygamy is a social necessity for the tribe which would otherwise run out of members, and a physical necessity for the men and for many women who would otherwise stay single. Nevertheless there are not lacking loose women, free in their favors, for whom the Indians use the name of amoeccue. M 695 M 337

The man is jealous and cruel to his wife if he suspects her of infidelity. While we were visiting the camp of Peilô we had the opportunity of hearing a husband, deep within one of the huts, beat and threaten his wife with death because she had been careless and fallen into the hands of a soldier. Nu-a-ilon-lâ (I shall kill you) he ground out between his teeth. On another occasion a woman, after her husband had been absent for two years, took up with another man; the husband returned, lay in wait, ran after and caught his wife and slit her belly open with a knife before the whites could prevent it. This woman did not die and as soon as she was well returned to live with her would-be murderer.

When the Indians intend to get married they dye their cheeks and the region around the eyes red. The man will give his love a present at the time he makes his proposal and if the woman gives [184] an affirmative answer the man gives her a dowry of whatever he has, such as sheep, chickens, skins, etc. M 584 [302]

If the families approve of the union the couple goes to live near one of them, should they not approve then the pair leave the hut and often even leave the camp. Once consent is granted, the nuptial ceremony is the act of consummation.

Among the Chiriguanos, when a man wants to ask for a girl's hand he places a bundle of firewood and a small deer or other provision at her door; if on the following morning the woman lights the fire and prepares a meal with the food supplied, the proposal is considered accepted and the suitor repairs to the table. Some people hold that this is also a Mataco custom, but the facts which I have been able to glean about the matter do not confirm this. C 584

The Chiriguano chiefs, however, have a privilege, which is that they cannot be rejected by the women of their choice: this is a great stroke of luck for them. The chief reveals his inclination with the offering of a piece of meat or some other thing; the girl cooks it, and they then share both meal and bed. The chiefs, especially the C 584 622

generals, that is the ones who have several camps under their command, have at least one wife in each camp.

Two or three days after delivery, mother and child wash, the new mother resting for only that length of time.

The father acknowledges his child and takes it into his arms with the following words: "This is my child." In some tribes it is customary for the husband to take to his bed when his wife is in labor, as an act of acknowledgement; and among the Chiriguanos the man takes his place beside his wife and for three days is cared for as if he had... given birth to a child! Then he gets up, but does not make any trips or work until seven days have elapsed, after which period the wife also gets up and washes. While the couple is in labor they eat nothing but water and a pap made with corn and bean broth; they abstain from eating meat.

It is quite common for a man to have two or more sisters simultaneously as wives. I can also give assurance that every now and then a father will not disdain even his own daughter. If no one will acknowledge a child as his own the mother may kill it.

The Indians are very skilled midwives: the white settlers themselves use their services. It is said that they are extraordinarily expert in taking advantage of the precise moment of crisis, holding the patient in a more or less straight position, apparently even shaking her, but without doing her harm. To this activity they add words to which the Indians attribute [185] virtue and to which the whites, who do not understand them, ascribe even more. So is it always!

Let it not be thought, however, that in the matter of love-making they limit their efforts to a more or less expressive pantomime. The fact is that they have words and expressions and a language which lend themselves admirably to amorous declarations and which they use. The harmoniousness of the Guaraní language is well known to all, it might even be said that it is too much so when used by the men and by the Chiriguanos, whose mother tongue it also is. But even the Matacos, the rude, unpolished Matacos who seem to be the last on the anthropological scale of all these South American Indians, have their harmonious expressions and the well-bred ideas which correspond to them.

I remember an occasion on board ship when there was among us a good looking Indian woman who was quiet, impassive and even